

- 231 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and
417 newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fence
must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few
Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

- 231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a
herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added
occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated
herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and
chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional
family has a few guinea.

- [422] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and every-
one else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew
where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far
away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and
reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

- [552] Oxen are given names when being trained to load. Names of pairs
owned by informants were *Valiente* (valiant) and *Fuerte* (similar);
Navegante (navigating) and *Marmero* (sailor); *Cornal* (corned)
and *Cuidado* (solicitude); *Principio* (beginning) and *Recordo*
(remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (*pico*) known to non-Araucanians
as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many houses. Three
characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors;
the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are
pale shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That
speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays
bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red
feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the
berries of *Michai*. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small
daughter] to take it to where the berries of *Michai* hang low. Chickens
certainly know how to feed on these berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

- 439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Arau-
canians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded
with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far
as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in
Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north,
the Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

923 This last system of land ownership and use was perfectly
feasible before the reservation era because Arucasians contained
more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was
fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of
823 natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after
922 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional prac-
948 tice into conformity with Chilean law. So-called *chief land*
it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and ex-
ercising over land, and ordinary villagers could not validate
their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cul-
tivated. When the government officials who were charged with
the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves
faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were
forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbi-
trarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the
individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local
group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a
number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary
lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *finde de*
movido, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great
number of collective land holdings, known as *reservas* or *reduc-
ciones*, came to be established throughout the Fronteras after
1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found him-
self unexpectedly elevated to the position of *cacique*.¹ This situ-
ation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was
the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Aru-
casians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives
could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too,
informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the
confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order
to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

423 New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of
448 affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide
551 the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of
553 these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

[77] ¹ It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *lofán*, and
that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

one name. According to Máquina names only names were 423
used, and these were generally shared by several members of a 424
big group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they also 425
had titles to numerous Aricaque and Mamboque without for 426
the identification, government workers urged the Indians to 427
adopt more distinctive names, whereas the Aricaque 428
properly took such applications as attack their fury. Many 429
changed the names of the Aricaque and Mamboque who were 430
working among them, some added Spanish given names to their 431
native names, and others simply inverted applications as re- 432
sults.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the different 423
groups in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of 424
time. No matter how adequate and equal the original grants 425
may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation 426
of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, 427
when the reduction of Cautín was originally established in 428
1889, it consisted of 756 hectares, designed for the use of forty- 429
four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original 430
tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small 423
parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of 424
them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in 425
such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree 426
while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity 427
of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend 428
their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they be- 429
come available.⁶ 430

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a 423
source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it en- 424
abled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or 425
liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work 426
in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or lived 427
themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to 428
429 430

⁶ From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landholders make a practice of moving their fence around legal boundaries in order to encroach Indian land.

INFANCY

453 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comadres may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collio in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

- 553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.¹⁴ So closely is the custom followed that the term *l-aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and the naming rite is called *l-akutun*.¹⁵ If he can afford it, a godparent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

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[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

¹⁴ A variant account of naming practices occurs in House, 1939, pp. 255 ff.

¹⁵ *L-aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chucha* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 109) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l-aku*.

consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may 553
receive a male calf, lamb, or goat. These are herded with the 44
family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them
himself.

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor
(neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver.
Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant
has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child
and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before
witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely
optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its 854
life strapped in a cradleboard, *kapulew*, but the custom is no
longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is
made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for
too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes.
A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with
soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants
are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by
the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed
beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's
needs if it cries at night.

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. 862
Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the
whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations.
The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,¹²
and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the
same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught 863
to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small
pottery jar, *metaw*, kept within the *ruta*.¹³ Each morning the 278
chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out- 346

¹² No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were
observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latham,
1909, p. 360.

¹³ Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially
when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony
in Malsiche a man passed to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large
number of spectators.

946 *compensation* fixed. At the end of this time she lactates again, and returns to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a feast in honor of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the rear itself. The mother takes up a leading posture during labor, holding on by a thing fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*ajpawon*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and noise the complaints of the mother and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*hwa*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a *champi*, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighborhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

646 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned, which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wife, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother, who reserves her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Tabooism*.—Although tabooism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nakul*, tiger; *Nakulolek*, red tiger; *Nakulripel*, leaping tiger; *Luen*, huano; *Mariuan*, ten huanoes; *Lonenuan*, huano's head; *Vila*, snake; *Quilevile*, three snakes; *Obilevile*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Aracantans believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

Each kupa had its own name, such as sky, sun, pillar (cf. infra under Religion, p. 747), stone, grove, like public, sea or lake, gold, bird of prey, eagle, river, water, duck, sheep, tiger, peacock, hawk, condor, snake, mountain ridge, house, foot, lion, etc., to enumerate some of them in their order of frequency in the early documents as calculated by Latham (1922 b, p. 211). Male children shortly after birth were usually given a name compounded of the kupa name, and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the kupa name. The father gave the name in most cases in the following manner: If, e.g., he were of the *Itana* kupa, he would call his son according to circumstance, "white Itana," "black Itana," "running Itana," "woodland shade" (where Itanas rest in summer), etc. (Havestadt, 1922, 2:641).

According to Havestadt (1922, 2:641), sons derived their kupa name from their father's kupa. Félix José (1907, p. 6) states that in old Mapuche regions son and father often have different names, but adds that in the family names of the two one notes the same clings (=kupa). Latham, however, (1922 b, pp. 222-23) states that his own comparisons of names of men and their sons appearing in published and unpublished sources show disagreement in the kupa element of the names; whence he concluded that sons must have derived their names from their mother's kupa. According to Carvallo i Goyena (1870, p. 120), the first-born son was given his grandfather's name. This problem of paternal versus maternal derivation of the kupa name needs further study from the published and unpublished sources. Félix José (1907, p. 30) and Guerrero Silva (1919, 1:340) affirm that women did not have the family name in their names. (Cf. Rosales, 1877-78, 1:106; Havestadt, 1922, 2:641—neither very clear on this point.)

Members of a given kupa had particular regard for and loyalty to one another, and aided with and aided one another in quarrels and other affairs.

The relation of the kupa eponym to the kupa members is not clear. According to Rosales (1877-78, 1:5), many "lineages" had the names of whales, etc., from sexual commerce of people turned into whales, etc., at the time of the mythical deluge, with women gathering seafood. According to Falkner, the eponym was believed to "preside over one particular cast or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator," and at death the souls of the members of the cast went to live with its eponym (1925, p. 114).

Kinship behavior.—On specific rights, obligations, and forms of behavior among members of kinship groups, our sources give only meager details. (Cf. *supra* under Marriage and Family and *infra* under Life Cycle.) One point stands out: The relationship, accord-

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NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

- 553 With rare exceptions, it was the father who named his child. The name was selected in several ways: Either the father selected it and talked his choice over with the mother of the child and then bestowed the name unceremonially by merely saying that this was the child's name; or a close relative, such as the grandmother or uncle, said that a child should be called by a certain name and then the father bestowed it, again unceremonially; or the name of someone outside the extended family, possibly, known as a *l'aku* (namesake), was selected, and his name was given the child at the *l'akutun* (naming feast). In rare instances the *l'aku* bestowed the name also. More often a boy's name is bestowed at a *l'akutun* than that of a girl. There are both masculine and feminine names.

A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had named his children unceremoniously. He said that his grandmother came to his *ruka* on each day that one of his children was born and asked him to give the child the Araucanian name that she suggested and that he did so: "When my first child, a son, was born, she told me to call him *Rayenllanlka* (flower magic stone—magic stone used by *machi*). I gave him this name on the day he was born. We had no ceremony or celebration of any kind. I merely said that *Rayenllanlka* would be the boy's name. When the second son was born, she told me to call him *Mellillanlka* (four magic stones). So, I called him that several days after his birth. She asked me to give my daughter the name of her mother, and I did so."

When a child is given its name at a *l'akutun*, the *l'aku* either announces that he will do so or the father of the child invites him to do so. The following are essential elements of a *l'akutun*: the father notifies the *l'aku* of his desire to use the *l'aku's* name and gets his permission to do so; the *l'aku* furnishes a slaughtered lamb or sheep for the feast; either the *l'aku* or the father provides an alcoholic beverage—formerly it was *mudai*, today it is *chicha*; families of relatives and friends are invited; the *l'aku* holds the child in his arms while the father declares that the child will have the *l'aku's* name; the *l'aku* then asks God to protect the child during its life; the day ends in much drinking. An informant described the *l'akutun* thus: "If a father wants to give his little son the name of an old man, he sends a messenger to the old man to tell him that he would like to take his name for his son. If the old man consents, a day is set for the naming. The father provides *chicha* (formerly it was *mudai*) and the

old man slaughters a sheep. Others are invited. If the old man is rich, he may give the child a horse or a heifer as a gift, and from then on he will continue to give the boy gifts until he is two or three years old. The father names the boy by saying to those present that this old man gives his name to the boy. The old man then takes the boy in his arms and says, 'God care for you. During the remainder of my life, you will be my l'aku. I am your father.' Then the father of the child answers for the child, 'I will be your l'aku. I will be your child.' Then the wife of the old man, if she is there, says, 'I will be your mother. Come to me if ever you are in need.' Then the old man and the father shake hands. From then on that person and the child call each other l'aku. The feast ends with much drinking of chicha. A l'akutun is made so that the name of a grandfather or great-grandfather or some other person will not be lost." 553

There was no set age at which a child was named. Generally, however, it was given a name when less than two years of age; often it was named shortly after birth.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 732-733), the naming feast followed the period of the mother's seclusion after delivery. At the feast a white lamb was sacrificed, at least in more recent years. Some of the blood was sprinkled in the four cardinal directions and the remainder poured into the hole in the ground where the umbilical cord had been deposited. South of Tolten, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. Informants of the present study had no knowledge of these customs, except that of the naming feast itself.

Sometimes a boy's name was changed; very rarely, a girl's. If a noted cacique came on a visit, "such as the cacique from the Pacific coast or Loncoche or Pitruquén," a father might change the name of a young son to that of the cacique, especially if the cacique was also well known because of his oratorical abilities. If a father disliked a young son's name, he might give him a new name. "A boy near here was called Autiman until he was five or six years old. His father disliked this name and changed it to Kallullanka." It also happened that a relative who had been away for a long time came for an unexpected visit. He would walk into a ruka and say, "I want this boy as my namesake. I want the boy to have my name." And from then on "the boy will have this relative's name and he loses his other name." If a boy wishes to have his name changed to that of a relative, the father confers with the relative about it. If all is agreeable, the change will be made at a naming feast held in the boy's home. On rare

- 553 occasions a mother may ask to change the name of a daughter to that of a relative.

Names are very rarely changed today since they are now entered on official records, which are often consulted because of inheritance rights to property. Should an Araucanian wish to change his name, he may do so in a Chilean Government office. "The Matias family did so; its name was Calfin, a real Mapuche name. Some of the Calfin men went to Valdivia to do so; they could have done so in San José de Mariquina, also. A Mapuche who changes his name to a Chilean one does not lose his identity, however, for he and all his family are easily distinguished as Mapuche; we have a physique different from the Chileans."

- 551 The origin of names was not known to informants; none had heard that they originated in dreams—unless it was the machi's—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. No informant had heard that names originated in a kinship system known as the kuga (cuga, cūga, cunga; also elpa; Cooper, 1946, p. 722) or the kunpén, a naming system (Bélix José, 1907, p. 38).

- 551 756 It appears that for each machi a new name is formulated, possibly one that is dreamed. (See p. 112.) A machi's name is never transferred to any other person. The most noted machi in an area bestows the name on a newly created machi. The following names of deceased machi were used exclusively by one machi: By men machi, Kumilican (half red stone); Rayenlican (flower of stone); Chaipulican (?); Foiquelican (canelo stone). By women machi, Llankünagpai (what falls from above); Pinsarayan (hummingbird waterfall); Pinsatrayen (brook of hummingbird); Llanquihuirin (lightning that strikes down); Huirinagpai (came down from above in the form of lightning).

- 551 All informants were agreed that within their experience names given to children were those that already existed and were nearly always those of deceased relatives. "Even today a child is rarely given a name that has not been in the relationship over a long period of time," said an Alepúe man. "I gave the names to my children," said a Panguipulli man; "I named my oldest boy Lonkon after my father who had been named Lonkon after his grandfather whose name was Lonkofianco—my father dropped anco. My father never had a Christian name."

Informants listened with interest to the explanation of the kuga, a naming system that denoted or connoted kinship, and in which male children, shortly after birth, were usually given a name compounded

THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

Formerly, immediately following delivery the mother took her child to a stream where, holding the child, she walked into the cold water, if need be breaking thin ice to do so. An occasional woman does so today. A non-Araucanian told of rising one morning to find her Araucanian woman servant returning, in a rather heavy snowfall, from a river where she had just taken a bath and had given one to her child, born during the night; she had to break the ice on the river to do so. The servant prepared the breakfast and went about her daily work as usual. (Customarily, the women refrained from work for three or four days following delivery.) "That happened 30 years ago [1922]," said the non-Araucanian. "But I have heard it told often since that the Araucanian women still take these cold baths and bathe their babies at the same time right after delivery." A listening-in Araucanian woman in her sixties was not of the same opinion: "That was true formerly; but most women today could not do that; they are too delicate; they would die. I know my daughters could not do it."

Old informants firmly believed that it was this first cold bath that kept the baby well and strong, and noted that none ever died from the cold bath. The first bath of most children today is one of clear lukewarm water in a large wooden dish used for household purposes. It is given immediately following birth by the woman who assists at the delivery.

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING

Formerly, the child's ears were pierced when it was given its name; today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced. Noses and lips were not pierced: "Never! Never!" Usually the piercing was done within a month following birth, because it was believed the child felt no pain in its ear lobes at that age and no swelling resulted; if the child was much older, its ear lobes often became sore. Sometimes, however, this was not done until the child was much older—in some instances as old as 18 years.

Obviously the piercer was not a conventional person. According to some old informants it was the mother of the child who pierced the ears of her own child; according to others, just as old, any relative might do so. In general, a woman pierced a girl's ears; a man, a boy's.

Piercing was done in the ear lobe from top downward with a sewing needle, "or something like a needle—we used to have a needlelike implement of silver around."

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727 Argentine taken into captivity by the Araucanians related the follow-
 597 ing: "My father was 13 years old when he was captured by our people. A cacique took him into his family and reared him. Later he married my mother, a pure Araucanian, a daughter of a cacique. Before I was born the Argentine army again came upon our people. My parents and others fled to Chile. Here I was born." An Araucanian who was taken captive by the Argentine army when he was only a small boy was taken to Buenos Aires where he was reared, married, and lived. "But he never forgot who his own people were. When I was 10 years old he asked my mother [the man's sister] to let me come to his home in Buenos Aires. I went. When I was 22 years old I came back here to my mother, along with other Araucanians who were coming back from Buenos Aires."

Araucanian women, too, were taken captive. "We were four girls in our family. I remember well when the army pounced upon us and kidnaped one of my sisters. She was 10 years old then. We never saw her again." The interviewer noted, "I know of a number of White women here [San Martin de los Andes] who were captured by the Araucanians as children; after they grew up they did not wish to return to their people. They stayed among the Araucanians and liked it."

NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 As previously stated, the child was given a name at the time its ears were pierced (p. 271), but there was no set age at which the event took place. Until a boy received his name he was called "little man" (piche wentru); a girl, "little woman" (pichi domo).

At present only a few children are given an Araucanian name. Since most children today are baptized and are given a Spanish name on that occasion, "there is no purpose in giving the child its name in the old way." A child that has not been baptized when its birth is recorded (registration of births is required by law) will be given a Spanish name by the recording officer, "That boy was given the name of Salustiano when five years old by the Argentine officer when I had his birth recorded. I had not yet had him baptized; nor had he been given an Araucanian name."

The child's Araucanian name was selected either by one or both of its parents. "They chose the one they liked. My parents had a friend named Traipe; consequently they gave me his name. When I was in the Argentine military service, the officer said that I could not use that name, and he gave me the name Pedro, the name he liked

best." Usually, however, the child was given the name of a relative, often of a departed grandparent, aunt, or uncle. A son was not infrequently given his deceased father's name. 553 ●

Either the father announced the child's name or, if he did not, one of the grandmothers did so. "But what really attached the name to the child was the presence of the people who had been invited and who were celebrating the event thereby." Always an abundant meal was served to all present. No prayers were said, and there was probably no ceremony connected specifically with the bestowal of the name. The *katawe*, it seems, was more closely associated with the piercing of the ears (cf. p. 272).

The origin of Araucanian names was not known to informants. "We gave our children the names that already existed; from where these came no one living today knows," said the oldest woman informant. "I called my oldest son *Waikillanka*; that was the name of my deceased grandfather. But how the name originated, or why my grandfather was so called, I do not know." 551

Feminine names differed from masculine ones—"just as they do in Spanish"—for the simple reason that they had always been given to women. "No one would think of giving my mother's mother's name, *Paise*, to a boy, any more than you would think of giving the name *Elizabeth* to one of your boys."

Some names lent themselves to translation; others did not. *Paise* had no meaning. *Namkuche* and *Nanci*, exclusively feminine names, meant, respectively, "condor person" or "condor people," and a kind of herb. Exclusively masculine names were *Llancape* (green stone formerly used for magic purposes), *Treopan* (spinning-top lion), *Pafüfütü* (blue snake), *Chequepan* (ostrich lion); and *Waikillanka* (point of a stone, like the spearhead of a lance).

The given name of a woman was generally not used when speaking of her. She was spoken of as "my mother," "my mother's mother," etc. In some instances, therefore, close relatives did not know a woman's name. A 25-year-old informant did not know the Araucanian name of her mother, who was 65 years old.

SURNAMES, NICKNAMES

Until recent years there were no surnames. "Formerly no one had two names; no one had a family name like they make us use today." Today every child has a surname, and so do all adults, except very old ones. Surnames originated in several ways. The first surnames were probably those given men when they were conscripted into the

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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child. 844 [844] [431] [572]

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup. 844 754

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place — that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually. 553 [551] [603] [613] [527]

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[603] It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[178] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

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[61] The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

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868 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

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861 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father.

[973] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

867 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowl-
603 edge from one adult generation to another, this situation
593 provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however,
when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality.
As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced
at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional
values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life
829 experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent
603 that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and
613 grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and
don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this
way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary
[769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral
spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his
[601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of
the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun*
[553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grand-
son, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*,
which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my
grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to
compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and
thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion
which sees no violence done to history through the omission of
pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or
presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana.
Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the
universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite
sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compres-
sion of genealogies and the manipulation toward even more
solidary structures.

59 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family
182 confines, the household or group of most closely related house-
867 holds, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The
household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the
young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the
sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of
[603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and
the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

Dimensions of the Supernatural World

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important acts of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined

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Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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825 wititu are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and
787 sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their
presence is a good sign.

776 *Arumko* and *shompalwe* are considered human forms with
animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a
swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a
small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to
this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a dis-
cussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this
book. The *shompalwe* is most often described as a young
maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who
lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery
domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phe-
787 nomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aerolites,
whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky),
and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The
Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own.
Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to
inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable
of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship
randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*,
and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe*
as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when
passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

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[763] *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to
775 designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attri-
butes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English.
Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with
benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited
from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an
overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the con-
nection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about
ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an
interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking,
ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died
and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children
who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received
no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

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Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witrantalwe (i.e. *witrán*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witrantalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witrantalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witrantalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witrantalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witrantalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

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thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could reprove the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She said that she could do nothing, but that my father should call upon his own ancestors and senechen. Two days later my sister died.

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When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Exactness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher, the kalku's client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a thungulmachin.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

• [553]

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

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Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-specific interpretation of this sort. Machi say that they do not perform autopsy-often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once